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582 835 brothers and sisters, real and classificatory, and the breaking of this taboo is the very worse crime of the society. The taboo applies just as strongly to sexual intercourse as to marriage. Breaking the sex taboo between cross-cousins and between parents and children, while considered a great social crime, is not quite so bad as breaking the brother-sister taboo. In the past the penalty for breaking any of [684] the incest taboos was death; the guilty individuals were killed by members of their own clan. No such breach occurred during my visit, and since killing is now forbidden by the Mandated Government, it is difficult to say what the punishment would be to-day. There are no tales of any incestuous marriages, but tales of incestuous intercourse with the punishment of the offenders are told. Since we know only about the few who have been caught, it is difficult to estimate even generally how frequently the taboo is broken. But it is quite evident that most of the natives have a horror of incest. Even a dream of it makes them thoroughly ashamed.

605 The *korup* relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex (see term 14) is the one surrounded with the most ritual prohibitions. Personal names must never be mentioned, and instead the term *korup* is used when one member of the relationship wishes to refer to the other. Between children the term the diminutive, *koko*, is used. The two *korup* relatives do not go near each other. If it would be absolutely necessary that they speak, it would be done briefly, at a distance of about twenty-five feet. Food is exchanged [431] between them, but always through the medium of a third person.

582 606 A man's preferred mate is this same *korup's* daughter, whom he calls by the term *-tumbo* (wife, see term 11), whether he marries her or not. If he marries another woman who does not stand in the relationship of a cross-cousin's daughter, her mother becomes [illegible] to him. Thus mother-in-law is

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844 footpath through the bush leading from the road to the
851 beach, and led by Maerabit, they yelled loudly, announcing their approach. As soon as they arrived, they filed into the house where the new baby was lying. In many little ways they showed their affection and joy in the new child, patting him and "crowing" over him. The infant's mother was not with him, but was in the cook-house preparing taro, and her mother was with the baby.

844 The women filed out of the house, and in their usual
851 nonchalant manner sat on the ground waiting for the
431 distribution of food. Murri, the infant's mother's brother, was master of ceremonies, and stood by the pile of coconuts and made a short speech, saying that these coconuts and taro were for the new infant, that this was only a small distribution of food, but that later they would have a much bigger feast. He was then assisted by the matrilineal grandfather of the infant in the distribution of the food to the women, who had all brought coconuts to the feast, and thus contributed as well as received them. First, each woman was given four coconuts, which was regarded as a new gift, then she received a large pile which was considered as a return gift for those she contributed. Each woman fills her
[482] basket with the taro and coconuts. They all walk home together, with the baskets on their backs.[1]

844 Women of the opposite moiety have celebrated the arrival of a new member to the community by playfully fighting each other for months before he arrived and on the day of his birth. He was ushered into the world in feminine company; his grandmother and other women of his hamlet were

[251] [1] Usually, at this feast, some of the taro has been prepared in a special way months in advance. The inside is scooped out and it is baked and hung up on the ceiling of the house to dry for many months. The resulting taro is hard and brittle, quite different from the ordinary baked taro and is considered a delicacy. The few who know this method usually begin preparations as soon as they hear of a pregnancy, and long before the actual birth.

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852 feasts. He fills up the basket with the food and gives it to me.
537 Then I eat." Another woman holds up a fishing spear and says: "My husband catches fish with his spear, then he cooks them and I eat." A third woman holds up a knife: "My husband works in the garden with his knife. Now I have planted banana trees. My husband cuts the bananas from the trees. Later I eat them." A fourth woman with no tool says: "My husband does not know how to work. He catches fish, but that is all. I cook them, and then I eat them." A fifth woman speaks: "My husband clears the ground and plants it. He fishes too." These are followed by two longer speeches. One speaks: "I am one person alone. I do not have a brother, and I do not have a mother. If I had a mother and a brother they would help me. But my mother has died, and so also has my brother died. Now if my husband were young he would work in the gardens as he did before, when he was young. In the past he would hunt the bush pig and kill one, and then I would eat pig. But to-day he is old; he sits in the house; now I do not eat pig. Enough, the man is old." After this lament another talks. "Yes, it is true that my husband is a worker. He plants the bananas, and then I cut the bananas from the tree. My husband, he goes fishing, but he does not give me a big fish. I never have the experience of eating big fish. It is always the small fish that are given to me. Now it is true that if I am sick he will plant the taro for me, and so also will he plant the bananas, and bring wood for the fire by the bed to keep me warm while sleeping, and so, too, will he bring me water to drink." This woman gives due credit to her husband for all his virtues, but she seems to have a slight grudge that he does not ever give her a big fish.

852 All this time, during the dancing and the speeches, the
431 ten or twelve men present are sitting some distance away. They look on and appear interested, but take no part. But as soon as the women have finished their speeches the

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men immediately become busy distributing the food to them. First, the men uncover the *liga*. With spearlike poles they level the pile of hot stones. Each woman knows just where she has put her own bundles of taro. She takes one of them from the *liga* and gives it to a woman of the opposite moiety, usually one who stands in the *Tamangaina*[1] relationship, who immediately gives her a similar bundle of taro. It is a reciprocal exchange.

After this exchange has been effected the other bundles of taro are removed from the *liga*, opened up and put in one pile in the open clearing in front of the house. Bananas are taken off the stem by the men and arranged in another pile, and the bundles of fish, pig, and turtle are also opened. Each woman puts on the ground either her basket or her mat, which form a long row on the ground between the pile of taro and the pile of bananas. The infant's maternal grandfather then counts a blade of grass for each woman present, putting one blade on each basket and mat to see if the latter correspond to the number of blades of grass he has, which represent the number of women. This is the method of counting. Then four or five men, the leaders of whom are the infant's mother's brother, Murri, and his maternal grandfather, Lorani, divide the taro, fish, bananas, and pig. In each basket, or on each mat, are put ten baked taro, two pieces of fish, a small piece of pig, and about a dozen bananas. The distribution, which is very careful and equitable, takes some time. The women, in the meantime, are sitting around loafing and taking their ease. When the distribution is over Murri makes a short speech to the effect that the feast was held for the new infant. The women are chattering and pay little attention to the speech. Now each woman takes up her basket or mat with the food and carries it to the place where she had been sitting in the morning

[1] This is the term used for her brother's daughter (see terms 22, 23, p. 49).

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when preparing the food. Some of the food has been set aside for the dozen or so men who are present, and they and the young boys now eat together at a place some distance from the women. All of the turtle goes to the men, for no other reason, I was told, than that they like it. It is not taboo to the women. They, in the meantime, eat some of the food and put the remainder in the baskets, with the bundles of taro received from women of the opposite moiety. Then each woman lifts the heavy basket of food to her back, if she has a baby puts him on top of the basket, and trudges home. For those who came from Lesu the distance is three miles, and they arrive home as the sun is setting.

When the infant is born those wishing to give the child their name indicate their desire, and immediately the child will be known by the name, or names. But they will not be considered really his names until after the appropriate feast and exchange of *tsera* (currency) has been made. This occurs some time within the first two months after birth. It is a clan relative—a maternal uncle or aunt or grandmother—who gives the name.

About two and a half months after the birth feast just described a naming feast is held for the same infant, at which about sixty men and boys are present. Unlike most of the men's feasts, it takes place in the open compound of the hamlet, and not in the cemetery. The preceding day the women of Ambwa, assisted by a few from Lesu, cook the taro. The child's mother contributes the pig. Both the men —the maternal uncle and maternal grandfather—who give their names to the infant, have already given one *tsera* (shell currency) to the child, who (through his mother) has in return also given each of them one *tsera*. It is the usual reciprocal exchange. At the feast Kadua, an Ambwa man, makes a long speech, the gist of which is that this is a feast for the naming of the child. Kadua is no kin to

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584 or it may be that another man fancies her and has made the betrothal arrangements.

584 431 All the little girls of the village are betrothed. If it is not an infant betrothal, another one is arranged later, probably when the girl is five, six, or seven years old, to a boy who is in his teens. The man first broaches the subject to the girl's maternal uncle, who in turn discusses it with her mother; then they talk it over with the rest of their clan relatives. If he is accepted, he makes presents of food, tobacco, betel-nut (and to-day the introduced loin-cloths also) to the girl and her clan relatives, and throughout her childhood, or until the marriage takes place. (Should the original betrothal of infancy hold, that man will make the presents.) [554] The presents are given when the betrothal is assured and informally from then up to marriage. There is no stipulated amount, but the more the man gives, the greater his prestige. The betrothed man also works in the gardens of his future wife's relatives. If they live in the same hamlet, the girl at infrequent intervals gives her betrothed some baked taro, but should he come from another hamlet, she is too shy to take the food to him, so one or both of her parents carry some taro which she has baked to him. A man who stands in the relationship of preferred mate (her mother's father's sister's son) also makes frequent gifts to her, even if she is betrothed to someone else and, as we have noted, the kinship term between these two is that for husband and wife. The girl and her betrothed do not eat together until after the marriage rites, nor is there ever any demonstration of affection between them; instead, there is a shyness and restraint.

584 In the past, I was told, it was customary for the girl to go and live with her intended husband's mother for a period before the marriage. The man, of course, would at that time be sleeping in the men's house. There may have been (although I am not sure) some connection between this procedure and making certain that the girl remained a

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Early the next morning everyone again assembles at Ponatlege. First comes the distribution of food. The women of Tagam (Ponatlege and neighbouring hamlets) give to the other women baked taro and pigs' entrails.

Then follows an interval when everyone waits for the dancing to be resumed. In come the women from Tagam and a few from Langania (one of the boys who has been circumcised is from Langania). Most of the women have their hair painted red, but a few have it a vivid blue. All have a smudge of the white powdered lime on their cheeks, and each one holds a leaf. They perform the *Bilalo* dance, which is one of the abstract formations. During the dance one man with powdered lime in his hand strikes one of the dancers on the back. A woman also with the powdered lime hits a dancer on the back. Later the dancer will give the person who hits him some tobacco. This action takes place frequently during all the dances, and occurs between two people who stand in the *tamangaina* and *ripunga* relationship.[1] The action just described always occurs whenever there is ritual dancing, and usually provokes laughter from the audience. I was unable to get any explanation of it from the natives, except that it always occurs between the kindred mentioned.

This dance is the first performed by women in these concluding rites. The dancers come from the same hamlets as the boys who were initiated. When the boys went to be circumcised, the women from all the surrounding villages danced and the men formed the audience. When the boys come out from the enclosure, it is the men from all the near-by villages who dance and the

[1] The first is the relation between a man or a woman and their father's sister, and the second is the relationship between a man and his father's sister's son or his mother's brother's son, and between a woman and her mother's brother's daughter or her father's sister's daughter's daughter. When the relationship is between two females, the term is *Rapungaina* (*ina* being a suffix denoting female).

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pigs are conspicuously displayed. One heap has been contributed by the *Telenga* women (the same moiety as Tsuros), and the other by *Kongkong* women.

As soon as everyone has arrived, which is about an hour or so before noon, the dancing begins. The first dance called *Kapila* from one of the Tabar Islands is by the *Kongkong* women. It is performed in two-line formation. Next, the *Kongkong* women from Ambwa do their dance called *Kaya*. They are followed by *Kongkong* men from Lesu, who, dressed in leaf petticoats and armed with spears, do a warlike dance in two-line formation called *Rumus*. The fourth dance is by *Kongkong* women, mostly from the hamlet of Onel. All these dances are in honour of Tsuros (who is *Telenga*), and during the dancing her clan relatives fling presents of tobacco and loin-cloths to the dancers.

Now the *Telenga* people are supposed to dance in honour of Pirau, the bridegroom, who is *Kongkong*, but at the last moment these dances are called off because the sky looks as if rain will come down soon. (It is the beginning of the rainy season, and heavy deluges are an almost daily occurrence.) It is desired to finish the rites before the storm breaks.

Next comes the distribution of the marriage payment, which was made several months ago, when the circumcision rites were performed. At that time Pirau's parents had come from Kanopil, on the west coast, and given him five *tsera* collected from his clan relatives. He, in turn, gave it to Tsuros' maternal relatives (her mother, her maternal grandfather and grandmother). The payment was not made in public or ritually. They accepted it, and, after considering the matter, decided that there was not sufficient to give all Tsuros' *Telenga* relatives, to whom it was proper that payment be made. They foresaw that if they gave to some and not to others there would be much talk and gossip, which they must avoid in order not to diminish their social prestige. So the members of Tsuros' clan, her mother, her mother's

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525 Tsuros, speaks: "I am just one person. I have no brothers
537 or sisters. I stand alone. If I had many clan relatives, there would have been much more food. The place would have been filled with food. You have seen that there are plenty of *Kongkong* women, but all my sisters (used in the classificatory sense) have died. I am one person, that's all. My *korup* (taboo) relative (referring to her new son-in-law, Pirau) is a young boy. (He is about seventeen.) Tsuros is also young. They have not been betrothed long. He has not yet brought plenty of food. I have not yet eaten bananas or other food which he should have brought."

Then Pulong, a classificatory sister to Tsuros, speaks: "Pirau has not given us much yet. Just a little fish and a little tobacco; but he has not been here very long. Suppose he stays a year longer, then I think he will give us plenty of food."

Strubi, a member of Tsuros' clan, follows, saying briefly: "Pirau has given me a little tobacco. Suppose he has been married a long time, he will give me much tobacco."

Tsangamor, another member of Tsuros' clan, holding up an axe, says: "With this axe, which I hold up, Pirau has cleared a garden for me, which later I planted. Pirau is young and has not been here long. After he has been married a long time he will bring me much food."

585 These women of the bride's clan have not taken advantage
431 of the custom of speaking about their husband's ability to provide them with food, but instead have discussed the same quality in the man who is marrying a member of their clan. In the preceding chapter we noted how the man was expected constantly to make gifts, particularly food and tobacco, to his future wife's clan relatives. In this case Pirau the groom, is from another part of the island, and has only been in the village for about a year. His own clan relatives are far away. The last four speeches show very plainly what has been expected of him, and that he has not performed

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585 all the services anticipated of a prospective bridegroom.
431 But at the same time they do not berate him for not having come up to expectations. Rather do they make excuses for him and express their confidence that in the future he will fulfill all his obligations to his wife's clan relatives.

585 When the women have finished talking, Ongas, the "Luluai" (chief) (and also one of the preferred mates for Tsuros),[1] stands up and speaks: "To-day we have come to this feast. All the women, all the children, all the men have come to the feast. Now one man from the west coast, one from the mission, marries Tsuros. The feast is sufficient for him. But suppose it was a Lesu man who was marrying Tsuros, there would be a much bigger feast. This feast is really a very small one. Also suppose that so many of Tsuros' clan relatives had not died, there would be a much larger feast. Now we have to hasten this feast, because Pirau must soon go to Pinakundo. The gardens are really not ready for the feast, but because we had to hurry we have the feast now. I have finished talking."

Then Ongas directs the distribution of food. Half is to go to the women who came the day before and contributed food, and the other half to those who have come from the distant villages of Langania, Kabil, etc., to-day, and who have not contributed food. The men are busy preparing the food for distribution. They place the bundles of food in a long line and put a stick in the middle of the line, which marks the division indicated by Ongas.

While the men are so occupied, a group of thirty or forty women have gone outside the compound, all the *Telenga* women in one direction, and all the *Kongkong* women in the opposite direction. After walking a short distance, each group turns and advances toward the other, shouting, laughing, and vigorously hurling coconut shells at each other

[1] He speaks in his role as the chief and a good orator, rather than because of his kinship to the bride.

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are exchanged; (2) trade, or the selling of objects for currency, which occurs both between individuals and groups; (3) payments made for services. In all of these there is a form of exchange, but there are also some free gifts which we will first describe.

FREE GIFTS

There are a few gifts for which there is no counter gift, i.e. no exact return either in kind or currency is required. These gifts are of food and betel-nuts. The staple articles of food, taro, bananas, coconuts are never sold,[1] and are given to kindred, friends, and strangers passing through the village as an act of courtesy. There is no thought of payment in currency, or a return of the gift, but it is understood that everyone is acting on the same ethical assumption, and so even here there is a kind of reciprocity. If some people from Logagon are passing through Lesu, twenty-five miles away, they will be given food as a courtesy. If the Lesu people were in Logagon the same courtesy would be extended to them. If a man has a large catch of fish, he will partake of it himself and give part to his wife, her relatives, and the remainder to a friend or kin who is having a feast. It is understood that the friend will act in a similar way when the positions are reversed. There are also free gifts between certain kindred. The maternal uncle makes small gifts to his nephews and nieces, and a father and mother will make gifts to their own children. Brothers and sisters and husband and wife also make free gifts of food or betel-nuts and no return is expected. Gifts from a man to the relatives of his fiancée are not in this class, for they are ritual and considered part of a marriage payment. A few of the Lesu people who had been

[1] An exception to this occurs in times of drought or famine. Then food such as sago may be bought from natives on another part of the island, because there is no taro crop.

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431 away to work for the white man in New Hanover—the Rabaul district—said that there they had observed the custom of the sale of food between kin and friends. The New Ireland people regarded this as disgusting, and expressed their scorn in words, tone, and facial expression.

RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE

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66 Reciprocal exchange is distinguished from trade in that in the former exactly similar objects are exchanged, while in the latter it is dissimilar objects. Reciprocity occurs between individuals and groups. There is reciprocal exchange of food between members of the opposite moieties at birth, first menstruation, circumcision, and marriage rites. At these feasts there are two piles of food, one contributed by the members of the Hawk moiety and the other by members of the Eagle moiety. The uncooked food is arranged in two piles (as at the marriage rites) looking exactly equal, and the food brought by the members of the Eagle moiety is given to the women of the Hawk moiety, and *vice versa*. At a birth feast the baked food is distributed in the same way. The Eagle women bring their taro, prepare it for baking, and place it in the *liga* themselves. They do not forget just where their bundles have been placed. Removing them from the *liga*, they give them to the women of the Hawk moiety. The taro is exactly the same, and prepared in the same fashion, so one gets exactly what one has given. But it is the exchange between members of opposite moieties which is regarded as important. While this exchange is between individuals, it is moiety structure which regulates it, and it is regarded by the natives as an exchange between moieties as well as between individuals. At the circumcision rites we saw also how the exact amounts of betel-nut and *tsera* were exchanged between members of opposite moieties.

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The mothers of the Eagle boys contributed eight *tsera*, which was distributed to the clan relatives of the Hawk boys. Their mothers also contributed eight *tsera*, which was given to the clan relatives of the Eagle boys (see Chapter IV, pp. 112–113.

There are also reciprocal gifts between individuals which have no relation to the moiety structure. In case of a quarrel the rift is mended by an exchange of exact amounts of *tsera*. For instance, there was a quarrel between Brakko and Manumat, who live in different hamlets. Brakko is the daughter of a former chief, now dead, and one of the leading women of the community. Manumat is one of the middle-aged men of the village. Manumat's sister is away working on a plantation on another island, and sent a message to Sigar, a woman of Brakko's hamlet, to come and work there also. Sigar goes and Brakko is very angry, and wants to know who will look after Sigar's garden. The women of the hamlet are very busy and Sigar's departure has upset their work. Brakko's anger is directed against Manumat (Sigar's brother) and angry words are exchanged between them. Their quarrel is witnessed by many of the villagers, who rush to see it, which is in contrast to their polite indifference to quarrels between husband and wife. A few days later Manumat gives Brakko five *tsera* and she gives him another five *tsera*. This reciprocal exchange ends the quarrel, although the final conclusion is not till a month later, when there is a feast, for which Manumat provides the pig. It is assumed that he has been the one to blame, or at least his sister, whose blame he takes.

Then there are reciprocal gifts for which there is no ritual or any other reason, as far as can be observed. These gifts are a portion of a pig. At the usual feast all the pigs are not consumed, and a head, or hind quarter, or some other fairly large portion of the animal, is given by the owner to someone present. This may be a return gift for a similar present which

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• 431 had been made at a feast six months ago, or it may be a new gift to a man who will return it at some future time. At the feast which Kaptan provided at the mortuary rites of his infant he gave portions of pig to five people who had given pieces of pig to him in the past, and two new gifts to men who will return it in the future. One man, Niknik, who got his portion as a return gift, passed it on (also as a return gift) to another man, Ongas, who in turn gave it to Tsagera, to whom he owed a gift. These gifts are always made ceremonially at the end of a feast. The man making the gift calls the name of the recipient, and the portion of pig is handed to him by one of the "waiters" at the feast. At the funeral feast of the old woman, Maling, Ongas gave portions of a pig to the following people, all of different clans and moieties: A head went to Buma, who had given him a head sometime before. Other portions went to his brother from Ambwa, and to five men from his village because they had accompanied him to Libba for the mortuary rites of his maternal aunt, but this does not absolve them from making return gifts to Ongas in the future. He also gave one section of the pig to Lorinit, at Morow's request. Morow is maternal uncle to Ongas, who makes the payment on behalf of his uncle. It will not be necessary for Morow to return this pig to his nephew. When the relationship is one of maternal uncle and nephew (*Tata-Tsiringi*) real, not classificatory, no reciprocal gift is required. Ongas makes one more gift of pig to his daughter. He makes none to his wife, although she will share in the eating of it. He says he would be "ashamed" to give a section to his wife. As far as I can make out, the "shame" would result from the presentation of these portions of pig in public, as there is never any public demonstration between a man and his wife.[1] This does not apply to the father-daughter relationship, although after the

[1] This is my own interpretation; I was not able to get any native reason for the "shame."

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girl has reached puberty there is a very decided lessening of any demonstrativeness. 431

The reciprocity in gifts is no light matter to be set aside. All the force of tradition is behind it, and it is an obligation which must be met, no matter how much time has elapsed since the original gift. So keenly is this felt that a man will be loath to take a gift if he cannot see his way to making a return in the near future. The following incident illustrating this occurred at one feast. A large portion of a pig was given to Tamella, who refused to take it because he doubted his ability to return it. It was then explained that this was not a new gift, but a return gift to Tamella's brother (both men were from another village) who was not present. When Tamella realized that it was a return gift being made to his brother through him, he took it. The discussion was good-natured and accompanied with some laughter, although Tamella was very serious in his determination not to incur any new obligation which he had doubts about fulfilling[1].

As we have seen, the most common object of reciprocal exchange is food, although occasionally it is currency, as

[1] Some of my own economic transactions illustrated the same point. The chief was quite meticulous in making a return gift, either in objects or service, for everything I gave him, otherwise he would have been "shamed," and I was on reciprocal gift relationship with many other natives. An interesting incident occurred in connection with procuring rain magic. There was just one rain magician in the community, a feeble old man enjoying much prestige. At first he was loath to give me his rain magic, and, as he stayed in his house and was ill most of the time, I did not have much opportunity of cultivating his acquaintance. His son was a youngish middle-aged man, whom I often met at feasts and other village rites. At discreet intervals I sent gifts to the old magician through his son, who knew that I wanted the rain magic. (The old man had also been rather flattered by my asking him to decide a moot point in connection with one of the genealogies.) Finally, after many months, the son came and asked me to come to his father's house and get the rain magic. The opinion of the rest of the village was that it was pretty nearly time for the old man to give me the magic. "Was he," they said, "going to continue taking my gifts for ever and give nothing in return?"

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in the settlement of a quarrel. It occurs between individuals and groups such as moieties, and the proper time for it to take place is at a feast. Again, it is the social structure which determines in what manner a large part of the exchange is conducted.

TRADE

Trading, which likewise takes place at feasts, occurs between individuals and groups, and is based upon the principle of reciprocity. In trading, however, there is a medium of exchange or currency. This is the *tsera*, one unit of which consists of an arm's length of tiny flat shell discs strung together. It is made on a near-by island, Lawongai, north of New Ireland, where I am told there are only a few men who can make it. While making the currency the man must be continent, and he sleeps in a separate house from his wife.[1] There are two kinds of *tsera*, white and red, the latter being twice as valuable as the former. (Some of the white *tsera* is made at Laummasong, in another linguistic district of New Ireland.) Sometimes the two colours will be combined. Attached to the strings of *tsera* are usually dog's teeth and an ornament called *urakembaum*. The teeth are supposed to cry out and attract more *tsera* to it. The *urakembaum*, a small round fibre object, has a mussel shell as an "eye," also supposed to attract more *tsera* to it. A native keeps his currency in a basket in the house (or to-day it may

[1] I did not have the opportunity of visiting Lawongai, and I was unable to get any information on how the currency was first introduced into New Ireland. As far as I could ascertain, there is no new currency coming in, and the amount now in circulation is not being augmented. However, the Australian shilling is gradually coming in as an additional currency. Boys working on plantations are paid in money, which then gets circulated among other natives. There is now a perfectly stable rate of exchange: one *tsera* is equal to five Australian shillings. I neglected to find out how this rate was arrived at. Large payments are sometimes made in both currencies, although the native one is more used than the introduced one.

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842 been seen, when a child is born nothing could exceed the affectionate care bestowed on an infant by his mother and the whole family. There are thus the two contradictory sentiments, desire for and rejection of motherhood existing side by side in the same society.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

837 Sexual life is not confined to marriage, and supplementary to it is the extra-marital intercourse. It is the socially accepted custom for a wife and a husband to have intercourse with a number of additional people, and either one, if young, would be considered abnormal if he or she did not have it. A young married woman without lovers would be in the same social position as a young girl in our society who never has any beaux or is never invited to parties.

Middle-aged women discussed their past affairs with me quite freely, and most of them had had so many lovers that they could not remember the exact number. One old woman, now a frightful-looking hag with a cataract over one eye, asked me rather indignantly if I expected her to remember every man with whom she had ever slept. Permanent intrigues with one man do not seem to be common, for, if such were the case, the woman would divorce her husband and marry her lover.

The woman and her lover usually have their intercourse in the bush, and the name for the lover is *malis lotin*, literally, husband bush. Sometimes if the husband is away, or sleeping in the men's house, they may have it in the woman's house.

837 431 Each time a man copulates with a woman other than his wife he gives her one string of *tsera*, which she in turn gives to her husband later. This *tsera* is not a payment any more than the marriage price is a payment for the bride. It is simply part of the traditional code of reciprocity whereby nothing is ever given for nothing. To-day, at the northern

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end of the island, near the white man's capital, where the natives have become more sophisticated, some girls go bush with their lovers and receive only a stick of tobacco in return. News of this has trickled down to Lesu, and the old women there speak scornfully of this new custom and of the cheapening of the girls thereby.[1] Yet husbands are not completely oblivious of the economic significance of their wives' *affaires de cœur*. On one occasion, in the not very distant past, many of the Lesu men went to Tabar, and during their absence the wives had intercourse freely with other men. The women thus collected much *tsera* and gave it to the men when they returned home. The husbands, I am told, were much pleased. One woman told me that her husband himself brought the first lover to her because he wanted the *tsera*, and she did not object. This is the exception, however, rather than the rule. Moreover, the husband in this case, now an old man, is by no means an avaricious or greedy man. Several times he brought me bananas and pawpaws, and refused payment for them, saying they were a gift in return for some tobacco I had previously given him.

No woman is ever taken against her will, and rape by a native is unknown. If a woman does not want to go with a man she merely says "no," giving an excuse or not, as she pleases. Usually she will merely say that she does not feel like it, and that ends the matter.

Although these women are aware of the causal connection between intercourse and birth, they all told me very emphatically that all their children are their husbands'; for, continue the women, after they have had intercourse with their lover they have it the next day with their husband, and this makes all of the children his. Each woman earnestly

[1] In no way can the extra-marital intercourse for payment be considered similar to the prostitution of our civilization. In New Ireland a woman who did not receive the *tsera* from her lover would have lowered herself and be completely without prestige or position in the community.

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and the body was rather quickly buried, without any special ceremony. Now the men sat around outside in front of the men's house and engaged in desultory conversation. Baked pigs and bundles of taro in the meantime were being carried into the cemetery. Here at one end and by the coffin was the *Warawara malanggan*, made yesterday. In the centre was the large breast ornament, *kepkep*, and around it was an intricate weaving of different-coloured leaves. The two baked pigs wrapped in leaves were placed in front of the *malanggan*, and twelve bundles of baked taro in front of them. On one side is the *kolamuth*, which is beaten as the men file into the cemetery. Malalis now opens the bundles of food and directs their distribution. Ongas and Sola, both sons of the dead woman's sister's daughter, cut the pigs. Fifteen men acting as "waiters" advance together, lift up the baked taro, and put it one at a time on the leaf plates, making the action completely uniform. When they finish they return and in a similar way distribute more taro. In the same manner they divided the two pigs which have been cut up. Each portion of food, divided between two or three people, consisted of about fifteen halves of taro and a rather large piece of pig, perhaps three or four pounds. No one ate until the distribution had been finished. Then they began, but Malalis and Soles and Ongas and one or two other clan relatives refrained from eating. When they finished, the men carried the remains of their food in baskets, made from the coconut leaf, out into the compound where the women were sitting. Here also were thirteen more pigs, singed but not baked, and uncooked taro. Malalis, assisted by Soles, Ongas, and others, distributed this taro to the women, of whom there were about eighty present. Then came the payments for pigs and services. Tubung, Malalis, Soles, Ongas, and the other clan relatives sat down and counted the *tsera*, which they took from several baskets. Soles stood up, and holding up

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764 each piece separately, said to whom and for what it was
431 being paid. All the *tsera* was contributed by Maling's clan relatives, about twelve of them, the largest amount coming from Soles and Malalis. First, the people from whom the pigs have been bought were paid, then the pall-bearers, and then the dancers. Tobacco and food formed the payment to the two latter groups. Then there were gifts of portions of pigs by the owners, Maling's clan relatives, who have purchased them for the occasion, and which form part of a long chain of economic transactions, consisting of exchange gifts, already described in the section under economic structure. Finally all the gifts were made, the rites were over, and everyone returned wearily to their homes.

765 For several weeks now all the women of the hamlet (this included the members of the extended family) slept in
[834] Tubung's house and the men at the men's house. There was an abstention from sexual intercourse at this time. During the day the ordinary family life was interrupted. The men spent most of their time sitting in the cemetery, and talked about any matter that happened to be of immediate interest. The women were together, busy much of the time with communal preparations of the meals, which the men ate in the cemetery and the women in the compound.
[262] During this time Tubung, the daughter of the dead woman, refrained from eating taro. This taboo is kept by parents and children, brothers and sisters, and husband or wife, should they be alive. During this same period dance rehearsals, which happened to have been begun before the death, were discontinued by everyone in the village. The end of the period was marked by a feast given by Soles, who hit a baked pig on the back.

764 The mortuary rites for Maling are typical. In illness it is usually a daughter or parent who takes care of the sick person. At Maling's death the behaviour of a husband

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the payments are ritually made to the owners of the pigs which were consumed at the feast, to the dancers, and to those who carried the corpse to the grave. In each case it is a close clan relative, a son, or mother's sister's son, a mother, or a mother's brother who makes the payments. It is never the surviving consort. While one person, such as a son, is considered responsible for the feast, he is assisted by other members of his clan (which is the same as that of the dead person). At the funeral of the old woman, Maling, there were fifteen pigs, all contributed, or rather paid for, by the members of her clan. Her mother's sister's son contributed three, and each one of the other clan relatives one. Most of these pigs were purchased from other people, regardless of clan or moiety, and it was to these people that the payments were made. The man making the payment held up a piece of *tsera* (shell currency) and called out the name of the man or woman to whom he was paying it and mentioned also what the payment was for. At another funeral there were ten pigs and a total payment of 39 *tsera* made for them, 32 out of the 39 being paid by clan relatives of the dead person. The remaining 7 were paid by the following three people, her husband, the chief (whose father was of the same clan as the dead woman), and another man who was of the same moiety, but of a different clan from the dead woman. This man was unmarried and most of his clan relatives were dead. He was a classificatory brother of the dead woman and she had frequently given him food. His contribution now of two *tsera* for a small pig was considered as a reciprocal gift to her. The general rule is that clan relatives pay for all the pigs and services. The exceptions just noted merely indicate that this primitive society is, like all societies, flexible in carrying out its rules.

The officiating clan relative also makes the payment to the dancers and pall-bearers.

The taro for the feast is contributed by all the women of the hamlet and the neighbouring hamlets, the clan relatives bringing a little bit more than the others, but in the matter of taro there is no fine distinction drawn as in the case of payment for pigs. Every woman brings the taro from her garden, and it involves no question of payment. Taro is never sold on any occasion, but pigs are a common object of trade.

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ing rites were given bundles of baked sago. The chief called out their names and the sago was given to them. This "marked" them as those who would sell pig for the future rites. The names of some women were called, and when the feast was over they came up to the cemetery to get their sago.

Gift Exchange

The feast is not only the time for payments and arrangements for future trading, but also for gifts. Usually not all the pigs are consumed at the feasts, and large portions, a head or half the body, will be presented to some one present. Sometimes this is a return gift for a present of half a pig which had been made six months ago, or perhaps it is a new gift to a man, who will return it at another feast. The gifts are always made ceremonially, the name of the recipient being called, and then the piece of pig is handed to him by one of the "waiters."

Discussion

At the end of the feast other matters of importance and current interest are discussed. If dance rehearsals are in progress, one man will make a speech exhorting the men to dance well and to practice rigorously. Or the chief may map out plans for a coming big feast, that is, when they will bring in the bananas to be buried in the sand,[13] when they will fish, what day the women will prepare the taro, etc. Or perhaps, as happened at one feast I attended, the weather was the subject of discussion. The rainy season (time of northwest monsoon) had begun, and for several weeks there had been a deluge of rain. Everyone was disgusted at having to slide about in the wet mud, and much more serious was the threatened danger to the taro crops. After the men had finished eating, the old and rather famous rain magician, Bullagot, made a long speech, encouraging the men and telling them that the excessive amount of rain was due to the magician of a neighboring village, but that he would counteract this by making his own magic to stop the rain. He was followed by other old men, all making speeches of a similar nature, exhorting people not to be downhearted, saying that Bullagot would stop the rain. The younger men listened and were impressed. It was not unlike a Biblical scene where the ancient prophets encouraged the people in a time of famine or other hardship.

Occasionally a concluding speech is made, although this does not happen very frequently. At the feast to make arrangements for buying the pigs for the future malanggon rites, the chief made a concluding speech, during

[13] Bananas are buried in the sand on the beach about a week previous to a feast. The resulting banana is very soft and squashy.

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Other Customs centering about Food

There are various interesting customs which center around food apart from feasts or family meals. These may just be mentioned here as showing the important sociological rôle of food. Betrothal is consummated by the girl preparing some food for the man and their sitting down with the basket of food between them and eating together. In many folk-tales, when we are told that a man and a woman, or a man and two women, sit down and eat together, this expresses the fact that they are married. A woman never eats with her lover.

The remains of food are connected with black magic, and so one is careful never to leave any left-overs about.

Even the ghosts are concerned with food. After a successful fishing expedition a half taro and a small piece of fish is left on the liga for the ghosts of dead clan ancestors whose aid has been asked in fishing magic.

The prohibition of certain foods on particular occasions is the essential part of several taboos. The most important of these is the taboo against eating taro for certain relatives of a dead person over a prescribed period of mourning. During pregnancy a woman may not eat a certain fish. This is one with many bones, and it is thought that they would hurt the embryo child. A pregnant woman will be given a half of a baked taro by a woman who has had children. The latter eats the other half, and this act is believed to insure a successful delivery of the infant.

Food is the most frequent form of gift between husband and wife, between mother's brother and his nephew or niece, between brother and sister, and between friends. It is also an invariable mark of hospitality to offer food to a stranger.

Social Function

From the preceding description it is obvious that feasts in this society have other functions beside the satisfaction of physical hunger. Sometimes there is more than one feast in a day and the men then eat as a duty rather than because they are hungry. One day there were three feasts in near-by hamlets, and all attended by the same men. Two were connected with death rites, and one was to mark the occasion of an infant's cutting his first tooth. By the time the third feast was reached, the men were not hungry, but all ate.

Even the family meal, which has the very definite physiological function of satisfying hunger, has also the sociological rôle of uniting the various members. In a similar way the sentiments binding the society together are given collective expression at the feasts, although the very strong line of sex